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LETTER OF HON. EDWARD WADE, OF OHIO,

TO THE CLEVELAND HERALD:

REMARKS UPON IT BY MESSRS. CAMPBELL OF OHIO, THOR-
INGTON OF IOWA, SHERMAN, LEITER, AND WADE OF
OHIO, HOUSTON OF ALABAMA, A. K. MARSHALL
OF KENTUCKY, AND DUNN OF INDIANA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JANUARY 28, 1856.



Mr. CAMPBELL, of Ohio, said: I rise this morning, Mr. Clerk, for the purpose of asking the consent of the House to call its attention to a matter affecting very deeply, I think, my veracity and my personal honor. I had occasion some weeks ago to call the attention of the House to a letter written by my colleague from the Ash-tabula district, [Mr. GROSVENOR,] in which I supposed charges were preferred imputing improper motives to my course in reference to the speaker-ship. I have no intention now of consuming any of the time of the House by noticing the various assaults made upon me by the newspaper press of the country on account of my vote against the plurality resolution, because I think these attacks grow out of their want of information in reference to my "antecedents" on that subject. Rather than consume the time of the House upon that question, I took occasion the other day to address a letter to the National Intelligencer of this city, which I will present now, in order that it may go upon the congressional record. It is as follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
WASHINGTON, January 25, 1856.

To the Editors of the Intelligencer:

GENTLEMEN: The struggle to elect a Speaker has been surrounded with much embarrassment, and the peculiar relation which it has been my misfortune, pursuing the advice of friends, to occupy with regard to it, renders it inde-licite for me now to give any opinion as to the causes of the existing difficulties. I prefer, therefore, to submit quietly to the virulent assaults which many of the anti-Adminis-tration papers are making, until a plain statement of facts may be given without the danger of producing further delay in the transaction of the public business. I am called upon, however, by numerous private letters, as well as by a por-tion of the press entitled to a respectful reply, for my rea-sons for voting against an election of Speaker by a plurality vote.

I came into Congress, inexperienced in legislative duties, in 1849, when there was a similar contest, the prominent candidates being Messrs. Winthrop and Cobb. The Free-Soil party was represented by Messrs. Giddings, Wilmot, Root, and some six others, who held the balance of power. After a protracted struggle, many efforts were made to adopt a plurality rule. Although a supporter of Mr. Win-throp, I united with the Free Soil men on this question, and uniformly voted against it, agreeing with them in the arguments which they presented, that it was of doubtful constitutionality, and a departure from the uniform usage since the organization of the Government of hazardous tendency. It was finally adopted, and the result was that a House, a majority of which was elected as advocates of the "Wilmot proviso," refused to apply the restriction to the Territories acquired from Mexico, which, by the laws of that Government, had been previously dedicated to free

institutions, and closed its legislation on the slavery ques-tion by the enactment of the fugitive slave law, *without securing trial by jury*, as recommended by Mr. Clay and the compromise committee of the Senate.

On one occasion during the contest referred to, when the plurality resolution was before the House, Mr. Gid-dings proposed the following substitute, in the propriety of which I fully concurred:

"Whereas the election of the Speaker of this body is one of the highest and most important duties incumbent upon its members; and whereas, also, by common consent of every House of Representatives since the adoption of the Constitution, a majority of all the votes has been re-garded as necessary to a choice of that officer; and whereas the freedom of debate has ever been regarded as one of the safeguards of American liberty: Therefore,

"Resolved, That a change in such election so as to elect a Speaker by a plurality of votes, while the minority are not permitted to discuss the propriety or constitutionality of such change, will be oppressive in operation, of danger-ous tendency, and ought not to be adopted."

During the first week of this session, when it was sug-gested to me by the friends who kindly supported me for the Speaker's chair that a plurality resolution would insure success, I again avowed my opposition to it.

Without elaborating on the subject, my reasons for voting against it now I will state:

1. That I am not fully satisfied that it is not an infrac-tion of the spirit of the Constitution.
2. That it is an abandonment of a uniform usage, which did not, in 1849, and I fear would not now, promote the success of the principles which I advocate.
3. Because I have reason to apprehend that its adoption at this time will result in giving the organization of the House to the friends of the Nebraska act.
4. Because, aside from principle, I am not disposed to stultify my past record until I am satisfied it is wrong; cer-tainly not until the public interest demands such a sacrifice, and a change of my position would settle the "vexed ques-tion."

I give these reasons briefly now, from a regard to those who have requested them in respectful terms. To the out-siders here who may have "jobs" in view, and to the edi-tors elsewhere who have denounced me as a "traitor" to the principle I have always advocated, and still adhere to, *I bid defiance!* I am neither to be led as the puppet of the former, nor to be driven under the lash of the latter.

Very truly yours, &c.,

LEWIS D. CAMPBELL.

I do not mean to consume more than a few moments of the time of the House in explanation of another matter which relates to my action in this body.

I hold in my hand a letter published in the Cleveland Herald, dated Washington, January 16, 1856, and signed "Republican." I have been informed that that letter was written by a colleague of mine. If so I wish to have it read at that desk. If not, I have nothing more to say, because I intend only to repel on this floor the

assaults made upon me by members of the body. [A MEMBER. Which of your colleagues is it?] The letter is here, and I ask to have it shown to my colleague from that district.

Mr. WADE, (to whom the newspaper slip in question was handed.) I have not read this letter, but I have no doubt that it is mine.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I now ask to have the letter read from the Clerk's desk.

The letter was read, as follows:

WASHINGTON, January 16, 1856.

EDS. HERALD: We are still "as we were," only a little more so. There have been for several days indications of a *flare up* among the opponents of slavery extension. This has been manifested in divers ways, easier felt than described. This morning, Mr. THORNTON, of Iowa, introduced, on his own responsibility, as he said, a resolution declaring Mr. L. D. CAMPBELL, of Ohio, Speaker of the House. This, if done without consultation, as it was declared to have been, was, to say the best of it, a mistake, which, if not "worse than a crime," was equally injurious to the anti-Nebraska cause. My own opinion is that, if not introduced with the consent of Mr. CAMPBELL, it was at best known to him. It was sprung upon the House without consultation or notice.

Mr. CAMPBELL had *formally withdrawn* from the contest and was in *honor* bound to keep "out of the ring" of candidates until called in by a caucus, or a notice at least to those who were known to be voting in good faith for Mr. BANKS. It was impossible for the BANKS men to know that southern slavery extensionists would leave the Hall or refuse to vote. Those BANKS men who voted against THORNTON'S resolution had no knowledge, no hint, no surmise, that Mr. CAMPBELL had, in one short night, become so very acceptable to the slavery extension Know Nothings as well as Democrats. Mr. CAMPBELL, on that occasion, was found in company with those who have been thwarting the will of an overwhelming majority of the anti-Nebraska men; and they, believing that a man is "known by the company he keeps," and preferring to fall into the hands of an open, rather than to risk the chance of taking to their bosoms a concealed enemy, *voted against that resolution.*

This most unfortunate, not to say treacherous movement, as it has since turned out, and was at the time suspected, seems to have been made, as the mover admitted, with "but a few others;" who those others were we do not know, but there can be but little doubt that it was a deliberate treason, plotted by three or four of our nominal friends, in order to throw the responsibility of the disorganization of the House on to those who were supporting Mr. BANKS. This, it was thought, would force the friends of Mr. BANKS to abandon him, and return to CAMPBELL. Instantly, on the result of the vote being made known, a general howl was set up by the Pierce Democracy, the national Know Nothings, and the DENX, SCOTT, and HARRISON recusants, that the friends of BANKS were responsible for not electing CAMPBELL Speaker, and the Locofocos were seized with a spasm of sympathy for CAMPBELL; and the national or slavery extension Know Nothings seemed on the point of swearing, because CAMPBELL was not elected. Indeed, they openly claimed that several of those slavery extension Know Nothings left the Hall, and that others declined voting, so as to give a chance for the election of CAMPBELL.

This piece of imposition was received by the Pierce men as a god-send. The use they and the Know Nothing slavery extension allies made of it was this: to denounce the BANKS men as adhering to him *personally*, at the sacrifice of CAMPBELL; and great was the sympathy of these slaveholders for CAMPBELL; but greater still was the consternation of a few of the anti-Nebraska men who had voted for BANKS. It seemed for a short time like "Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted." It indeed looked a little *blue* for a time—as though the ranks of the anti-Nebraska men were to be broken by this in-flood of the enemies. A caucus was called, and the matter discussed and explained; and the manly conclusion was to sustain BANKS, and not again to take counsel of our enemies, nor to select candidates from anti-Nebraska men acceptable to the Democratic and Know Nothing sections of the slavery extension party in Congress; for there are but two parties here—the *Slavery-extensionists* and the *Slavery-restrictionists*. True, these two parties are at odds with each other on what they call "American principles," but on all other matters they are to each other as "hand and glove."

One word on the position of the "scattered," as they are called here. They affirm that they "will never vote for BANKS;" they give no reason for this, only that BANKS is not liked by them, and they never will vote for him. Now, there is no reason why the views of these men should not be respected, nor is there any reason, on the other hand,

why they should not respect the preferences of the overwhelming majority of their comrades.

Their position is hostile to the success of the anti-Nebraska men. They are doing the work of the sham Democracy—doing it *more effectually* than the Pierce men and the slavery Know Nothings could do it themselves. Were those men in the pay of the Administration they could not do its work as effectually as they are now doing it; and instead of being allies of the anti-Nebraska men, they are, and ought to be treated, as pro-slavery men, and allies of the slave Democracy.

REPUBLICAN.

I now refer to the Congressional Globe of that date to show what was said on the occasion of the introduction of the resolution by the honorable member from Iowa, [Mr. THORNTON.] The resolution had been presented before I entered the Hall, having been detained at my rooms by company. The resolution was in these words:

"Resolved, That LEWIS D. CAMPBELL be declared the Speaker of the House of Representatives for the Thirty-fourth Congress of the United States."

He had preaced its introduction with remarks made before I came in, but which appear in the reported proceedings of that day. The gentleman from Iowa said, among other things, before introducing his resolution:

"I have not consulted the gentleman whose name I have embraced in this resolution, in reference to the use I have made of his name; a proper sense of delicacy has prevented me from doing so."

As I have already said, I came into the Hall not knowing what proposition was about to be voted upon. On inquiry I was informed of its character, and felt that it placed me in a most embarrassing situation. My own judgment dictated the propriety of announcing, as soon as I could with propriety take the floor, that it was introduced without my knowledge or consent.

After the vote upon the resolution was taken, and before the result was announced by the Clerk, it appears from the Congressional Globe that the following remarks were made:

"Mr. CAMPBELL, of Ohio. Mr. Clerk, I have seen much, heard much, and read much that has surprised me at this session of Congress; but I was never more amazed in all my life than I was on entering the Hall this morning, to find a proposition of this kind pending before this body. I felt embarrassed, because I thought that it might place me in a false attitude before the House and the country. I felt, also, that it might tend to embarrass the action of this House. But I had no remedy; and I now rise for the simple purpose of assuring the House that the proposition was made without my knowledge and without my authority. It was, doubtless, the result of personal kindness and of patriotic design on the part of the gentleman from Iowa, and I thank him for it.

"Sir, it is but proper I should say, that since I withdrew my name on the seventh day of December, I have on several occasions been appealed to by honorable gentlemen to give my consent to the introduction of some such proposition as this. Those who never voted for me during the time I was before the House as the candidate of my friends, have made appeals to me that they might be authorized to submit something of this kind. The honorable gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KNIGHT] has made such an appeal to me on more than one occasion. My uniform response has been, that whatever ambition I might have had, when I came here, to occupy that high and honorable post, had been cured, because I thought that its honors had been very materially frittered away by the circumstances connected with this controversy.

"I assured the gentlemen who made these applications to me that, under no circumstances whatever could I, in the existing condition of things, be considered as a candidate, or as throwing any obstacle in the way of a speedy organization of this body. With the honorable gentleman from Iowa, [Mr. THORNTON,] I believe I have for some weeks, secretly passed the ordinary courtesies and civilities of the day, which less than to have any conversation with him upon a proposition such as he has submitted; and he doubtless will, if he has not already done so, exonerate me fully and entirely from any participation in this matter.

"Mr. THORNTON. I stated, I believe, I had not had, directly or indirectly, any consultation with the gentleman from Ohio, and had only mentioned the matter to some of my particular friends.

"Mr. CAMPBELL. I am glad, however, that the vote has been taken, because it may be the means of throwing some additional light upon this question of organization, and of enabling us to extricate ourselves from the difficulties in our way. I am glad, too, for the further reason, that it gives me an opportunity to acknowledge, in my humble way, my unfeigned gratitude to those gentlemen—and there are many of them—who have supported this resolution, yet who did not, for reasons satisfactory to them, vote for me upon the former occasion."

How my colleague [Mr. WADE]—immediately after such a declaration from me and from the honorable member from Iowa—could have retired to his room and sent a letter for publication in my State, charging that I knew of the fact that the resolution was to be offered, and imputing treachery, is beyond my comprehension.

It is only necessary now, Mr. Clerk, that I should put this matter right on the record in references to my own action; and with a view of doing so, I call upon the gentleman from Iowa now to state whether any knowledge of any kind was imparted to me, directly or otherwise, of his intention to introduce that resolution. When he answers, I shall call upon two of my colleagues for a statement in this connection. The gentleman from Iowa will be good enough to give me the benefit of his testimony.

Mr. THORINGTON. My attention, Mr. Clerk, was this morning called to that communication by the gentleman from Ohio, [Mr. CAMPBELL.] I read the article then for the first time; and I must say that I never read an article which surprised me more than the one just read from your desk. The declaration which I made on this floor at the time of my introducing the resolution referred to, declaring the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. CAMPBELL] Speaker of this House, was sufficient, and I thought, in the innocency of my heart, that to members on this floor, at least, it would be; nor did I for one moment suppose that it would have been ever called in question here. But it seems that it has. And now, sir, so far as that article is concerned, I have only to say, that I would infinitely prefer the position that I occupy to that occupied by the writer of that article. And I will further state, that the allegations contained in that article, so far as they have reference to me, are untrue and false in inference and in fact, when they charge me with colluding with political opponents.

Now, sir, so far as my having any intercourse with members upon the other side of the House, either the American or Democratic party, is concerned, in connection with the presentation of that resolution, I can say with equal candor that no communication whatever passed between them and me. And I can also say that I had very little conversation, either directly or indirectly, with gentlemen upon this side of the House—the Republican party—in reference to the matter. Mr. CAMPBELL had no connection with the presentation of that resolution, nor am I aware of his knowing anything concerning the use that was being made of his name in that resolution, until he appeared in his seat on this floor. No words, or communication of any kind, directly or indirectly, passed between us upon the subject. Those members with whom I did consult approved the act, and were uncompromising friends of Mr. BANKS, who had previously and who have subsequently voted for that gentleman, as continuously and as consistently as the writer of that article himself.

Now, sir, in reference to the connection of the offering of my resolution with caucus nomina-

tion, I have to say, that I have attended all the anti-Nebraska caucuses that were held before that time and since. In the caucus previously held, in which it is said that Mr. BANKS received the nomination, I did not remain, however, until the alleged nomination was made. I occupied a seat in the last omnibus that left the Capitol on that evening, on my way to my residence in Georgetown. Some gentlemen who were present when the same was made informed me that Mr. BANKS had been nominated, but that the nomination was only considered as binding until some candidate, if practicable, could be found who would more effectually concentrate the action upon the part of the anti-Nebraska voters; and that it was considered as a mere understanding, with no caucus pledge. I felt under no obligations to vote for the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts, except so far as I should think proper and the interests of my country required. I did, however, vote for that gentleman cheerfully, as I had done previously, and have voted for him since. But at the time I offered the resolution, I thought that the country had sufficiently long witnessed our ineffectual attempts to elect that gentleman, and that there could be no injury to parties on this floor in making an effort in another direction. Under these circumstances, I presented the resolution offering the name of my distinguished friend from Ohio [Mr. CAMPBELL] for the speakership. I did not consider myself under any trammels of caucus to prevent, nor did I suppose that any member upon this floor considered himself bound by the action of that caucus referred to not to vote for my friend, or any member other than the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts. Since the meeting of the House on the first Monday of December last, I have voted upon every call of the roll for either the gentleman from Massachusetts or the gentleman from Ohio. I voted for Mr. BANKS as long as I deemed it to be necessary and proper, and I shall follow that course in future. But, on the other hand, I did not hesitate to present the name of Mr. CAMPBELL for that place, to which, in my opinion, he richly deserves to be elected, and who is sound upon the slavery question.

As to the attacks made upon me upon the part of the press, I have only to say, that I hope the result of this contest will show that the persons who assailed me have been doing the country as good service as I intended when I presented the resolution proposing my honorable friend from Ohio as the Speaker elect for the House of Representatives of the Thirty-Fourth Congress. I believe I have acquitted my honorable friend from any participation with me in the use of his name in connection with the speakership. I will, therefore, consume no more of his time.

Here the hammer fell, and the Clerk announced that the time of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. CAMPBELL] had expired. [Cries of "Go on!" "Go on!" from all parts of the Hall.]

No objection having been made,

Mr. CAMPBELL proceeded: Mr. Clerk, I have no words of harshness or of denunciation for my colleague. I never have cherished an unkind feeling towards him; none. I regret that he should have placed himself in this attitude. I intend to take this testimony in my own vindication as a member of this body, and place it upon the record, and send it, with his letter, among the people of my native State, whose minds have, for some reason unknown to me, been

lately poisoned against me by misrepresentations. And there I shall leave the matter.

Treachery seems covertly to be imputed to me in this letter, because of my action on that occasion. As before stated, I entered the Hall while the resolution was before the body. I was at a loss to determine what I should do. My position was embarrassing, and I felt that I ought to have a friend or two with whom I should take counsel. My colleague from the Richland district [Mr. SHERMAN] occupies a desk immediately in front of me. I requested him to call another colleague, the gentleman from the Stark district, [Mr. LEITER.] They came to my desk, and I besought their advice. They are now present, and I request them to state what was my conduct upon that occasion.

Mr. SHERMAN. Since my colleague has requested me, I will state very briefly the occurrences on the occasion to which he has referred. On the morning when the gentleman from Iowa offered his resolution declaring Mr. CAMPBELL Speaker, I came into the Hall after the session had commenced. The yeas and nays had been ordered on the resolution, and the vote was about to proceed. A few moments after, my colleague [Mr. CAMPBELL] came in—and we inquired mutually of each other what was pending. My colleague did not, I am persuaded, know that such a resolution was to be offered. So far as I am concerned, I was taken entirely by surprise. We ascertained, however, presently, the nature of the question, and thereupon, my colleague [Mr. CAMPBELL] requested me to speak to my other colleague sitting nearest me, [Mr. LEITER.] for the purpose of consulting as to what was best to be done under the circumstances. This I did.

The first impulse upon the part of my distinguished colleague [Mr. CAMPBELL] was to rise in his place pending the vote on the resolution, and request the gentleman from Iowa to withdraw it. My colleague [Mr. LEITER] and myself endeavored to dissuade him from pursuing that course, because we did not know but the proceeding might have been the result of a general understanding upon the part of the anti-Nebraska members of the House, and that the gentleman from Iowa was carrying out the common design. After the vote had proceeded, however, we discovered that the friends of Mr. BANKS, including most of our colleagues, were voting against the resolution; but it would then have been indelicate and improper, without a consultation with the gentleman from Iowa and others, and without a better knowledge of the purpose of offering the resolution, for my colleague to have withdrawn his name while the vote was proceeding, after having allowed the proceeding to go on thus far without protest.

We therefore urged him to allow the vote to be taken *sub silentio*. I myself voted for the resolution; but it having been voted for, I have since, as I did before, cast my vote for the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. BANKS.] The resolution, at most, was inopportune—introduced without sufficient consultation. But I never supposed it would be made the pretext of assailing the motives of either the mover of it, or of my colleague, or of those who, like myself, felt impelled by a sense of duty to vote for it. Is this the explanation my colleague desires?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I now appeal to my colleague from the Stark district for his understanding of the matter.

Mr. LEITER. Mr. Clerk, I am happy to reply, at my colleague's request. At the time the resolution was introduced by the gentleman from Iowa, [Mr. THORINGTON,] I looked toward the seat of my colleague, [Mr. CAMPBELL.] I saw that he was absent. Some little discussion ensued. Before the vote was taken, and during the call of the roll, I perceived my colleague in conversation with my other colleague, [Mr. SHERMAN.] I went to them, and then learned that Mr. CAMPBELL was anxious to withdraw his name. I told him—and I take the entire responsibility for everything that I do—that he ought not to withdraw; that I was exceedingly anxious for an organization of the House; and that an anti-Nebraska man should be elected to the speakership. Any one of the hundred men suited me. I was not tied to any man; and I did not, and do not, mean to be. I advised that Mr. CAMPBELL should let the vote be gone through with. I said that if we could elect him, it would be right; if not, there would be no harm done. That is my position.

I will say further that, in my judgment, but for the counsel of my colleague [Mr. SHERMAN] and myself, Mr. CAMPBELL would have withdrawn. Still, he had no idea that we were plotting treason against the anti-Nebraska party of this House. Has it come to this, that because we vote for a man who is an anti-Nebraska man, an anti-slavery man, a man whose reputation is well-established in the country, we are, therefore, committing treason against the BANKS men? In God's name who are the BANKS men? From whence comes this new party?—BANKS party! I never assisted in the organization of any such party; and I never will assist in the organization of any party that has a man for its object without any principle. I voted for my colleague from Ohio, [Mr. CAMPBELL]; and I have only one regret, and that is, that he had not votes enough to elect him. This is all I have to say.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Clerk, I know that a studied effort has been made in various quarters to place me in a false position in reference to this matter. On the 7th of December I withdrew my name from the struggle in which we are engaged. I was then, have been ever since, and am now, ready to make any sacrifice for an organization of this House and for the interests of my country, except that of personal honor. That is my own, and I am here to defend it against all assaults, come from whatsoever quarter they may. An attack upon it seems to have been made by my colleague, and I have therefore called the attention of members to these facts.

Now, sir, if there is any man, of any party, or from any section, in this House who knows of any dishonorable or selfish act of mine connected with this struggle for the speakership, I ask him to rise now in his place and make the charge, so that I may confront him before the House and the country. [Here Mr. CAMPBELL paused some seconds for a reply.] There is not one. I hope, therefore, that I may not again have occasion to take the floor on this subject to repel assaults made by members of this body. For the sake of harmony and good feeling in my native Ohio, and among her Representatives here, I trust that my colleague [Mr. WADE] will not in future retire from this Hall to make assaults upon my integrity, as a newspaper correspondent.

On the subject of slavery my position is, I trust, well known to every one in this House, and fully

understood by those I represent. I have never occupied a doubtful position on that question here or among my constituents.

My position on the subject of Americanism is also well known, and has been boldly avowed. I apprehend it is because it is so well known here and at home that these assaults are made upon me. If this principle of "crushing out" is to be pursued because of my avowals on the subject, then I can say to my colleague that he will have a lively time of it before he finishes his contest with me. Sir, we have nailed the banner to the mast on which the principles of American reform are inscribed. If he seeks to prostrate me for this cause, I point him to that banner:

"Our flag is there! our flag is there!
We'll hail it with our loud huzzas!
Our flag is there! our flag is there!
Behold its glorious stripes and stars!"

We do not intend to abandon it—never! never! Mr. Clerk, I thank the House for its kindness and attention.

Mr. HOUSTON. Mr. Clerk, I rise for the purpose of stating a fact. I do not intend to enter into any argument. The statement made in the letter which has been read to the House, that those on this side of the Hall with whom I have been voting for Speaker, kept out of the way and did not vote on the resolution to which reference has been made, has been repeated on several occasions. Now, I have put myself to the trouble of making an examination of the vote referred to. There were eight gentlemen of the seventy-four who did not vote on that resolution. One of the eight, Mr. HENDLEY S. BENNETT, was at the time confined to his bed by sickness. The remaining seven all paired off, and six of them were absent from the city. Then the fact is not true that any, even a solitary one, of those present with whom I have been voting, failed to vote. Every one who had not paired off, except Mr. BENNETT, who was sick, voted against the proposition. One gentleman who was in the city, but paired off, was at the time, I believe, making an argument before the Supreme Court. I will conclude by again distinctly stating the fact, that every Democrat, or RICHARDSON man, who was present in the city, and not paired off, voted against the resolution with one exception, and that was the gentleman from Mississippi, and he was unable on account of illness to be in attendance.

Mr. WADE obtained the floor.

Mr. ALEXANDER K. MARSHALL. I will state, Mr. Clerk, that if the letter alluded to included those who are denominated South Americans, without examining the matter, still I will venture the assertion, that a large majority, if not all of them, voted against the resolution declaring the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. CAMPBELL] the Speaker of the Thirty-Fourth Congress. [A VOICE. Except one.] I am informed that there was one who did not cast his vote.

Mr. WADE. I want to say, Mr. Clerk, that the letter which has been read makes no direct charge of treachery against my colleague. None was intended to be made against him. It was but an inference from facts which I supposed were taking place before the eyes of us all: nothing more was intended.

My colleague says now, that he rose up and stated distinctly, that he had no knowledge that the resolution was to be introduced. Now, the gentleman perhaps may have done this, but I did not see or hear him on that occasion. My col-

league refers to the report of what then took place, but I did not read the report of it as published in the Globe or elsewhere. The report referred to by him may make that statement, but not having been read by me I did not, and could not be cognizant of his disclaimer. The resolution of the gentleman from Iowa was received with surprise and astonishment, and made no little stir in the part of the Hall where I sit. It would be far from me to impugn his veracity or his personal honor. Suppose I did. I have a high respect for the gentleman's honor, and intended to state only the impressions made on my mind at the instant. I do not intend to reiterate any supposed charge upon him in respect to this matter.

I said in that letter—what I believed I was warranted in saying—that an inference might be drawn from the course that the proceedings took, that there was some understanding between some individuals. Who they were I did not pretend to state. I know that the gentleman from Iowa disclaimed at the time having consulted with any one, as I understood him. He stated that he offered it solely on his own responsibility. He stated afterwards that he had consulted with but a few. Who those few were, or how many of them there were, I did not know. I knew nothing about it. Gentlemen around me knew nothing about it. The resolution was suddenly sprung upon us, and precisely that use was made of it by the Nebraska men which I inferred any man might have expected would be made of it. I supposed that any man would know that it would lead to embarrassment, and that our enemies would take the advantage of it that they have taken.

That letter, sir, was written hurriedly and under the excitement of indignation at the course that things took here, under the erroneous impression that my colleague was giving them his sanction by his silence.

My colleague speaks pompously about his honor, and his determination to spread these matters abroad among my constituents, and over the State of Ohio. Well, now, I am perfectly content that my colleague shall send anything he chooses among my constituents; and I will venture to say, that they will never believe that I intentionally made a wrongful charge against him, or that I will not do justice to him to the fullest extent in my power. When my colleague disclaims that he had any knowledge of the introduction of the resolution, there is not a man upon this floor—be he American, European, Asiatic, or African—who will do him justice with greater alacrity than I will; and I have only to say upon this subject, that I did not intend in that letter to do him any wrong. I thought the introduction of the resolution most extraordinary; and not knowing that my colleague made any remarks in reference to it, but supposing, on the contrary, that he remained silent, permitting the vote to be taken without disclaimer, I supposed myself warranted in drawing the inference that there was some understanding about it. I am happy that my colleague disclaims it; and I am happy to admit the full length and breadth of his disclaimer. I voted for my colleague, whilst he remained a candidate, I think, as steadfastly as any other gentleman upon this floor. I stood ready to vote for him to the end, and would not have flinched or faltered under any pressure; and when my colleague knows me better, he will understand that I do not change my course until satisfied that I am wrong.

I have nothing further to say with regard to that letter. It expresses exactly the impressions that were made upon my mind by the occurrences upon this floor at the time.

The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HORSTON] says that there were no gentlemen here who did not vote. There was one gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. PAINE] who declined voting, and many members went out of the Hall while that vote was being taken. Who they were I could not tell; but there were gentlemen who went out from this side of the Hall before their names were called. Whether they went out to avoid that vote I know not, and could not say; but I expressed, in that letter, the impression made upon my mind at the time. I exculpated the gentleman from Iowa from all preconcert in the matter. I did not implicate my colleague from the Stark district, [Mr. LEITER] and he, I presume, neither desires nor expects any explanation as regards him for anything stated in that letter.

Mr. LEITER. No, sir.

Mr. WADE. I know he does not. I have made no charge against him, nor did I intend to implicate (any further than I was led by misunderstanding) my colleague [Mr. CAMPBELL]—further than I was led by my ignorance of his disclaimer. That letter, like any letter written on the spur of the moment, doubtless contained some stronger expressions than it ought to have done, but it conveyed the impressions made upon my mind at the time, and they were thrown off in my seat in the excitement of the moment.

Now, with regard to those gentlemen whom I called the "scatterers" or "recusants," I do say now, that if those gentlemen had acted with the Democracy—if they had voted for the gentleman from Illinois, [Mr. RICHARDSON,] or were now voting for the gentleman from South Carolina, [Mr. ORR,] they would not have thrown, nor would now throw, so great an obstacle in the way of an organization of this House by the election of an anti-Nebraska Speaker as they are doing by the course which they have pursued and are now pursuing. That is my opinion still. I do not charge them with intending it. That is not what I said, or what I meant to say. I intended to say that such, in my humble judgment, was the effect of their course; and it is as true now as it was then. These are all the remarks that I propose to submit to the House in relation to this matter.

Mr. DUNN. I very much regret that some gentlemen cannot be undeceived upon one point, and that is, as to the extent of the power which they have over their associates upon this floor. Not only are they without power over each other's votes, but the effort, directly or indirectly, by the means employed here for weeks to assert and exercise that power, is *devoid of all decency*. That gentleman who sends his slanders throughout the country—not having the courage to put his name to them, against his own colleague, as gallant a man as ever fought the battle of freedom in this Hall—comes here, now, and reads his lectures, and enforces his inferences upon this House and the country in regard to what, he says, is the disorganizing spirit of gentlemen who do not happen to agree with him.

It ought to be a matter of utter astonishment, and surely is so to every honest man in his sober senses, to observe such attacks as that contained in the letter we have had read, and are daily

seeing in one form and another, upon the gentleman from Ohio, [Mr. CAMPBELL,] who is the subject of them. Everybody knows that, in the last Congress, he stood here the acknowledged leader of a little band of faithful and patriotic men, without food or repose, in a contest of *thirty-six hours*—the longest, and fiercest, and most inveterate parliamentary conflict in our history—in defense of the just rights of freedom and the repose of the country. That little band, with no other power or protection, than that afforded by the Constitution to compel the calling of yeas and nays, and their own integrity and courage under his leadership, steadily and successfully maintained the fortress of freedom against leagued aggression in overwhelming numbers, encouraged and marshaled to the battle by a gentleman of consummate skill and ability. Yet that strong host was at last driven, by this steady repulse, exhausted and disheartened from the field. Never again would that conflict have been renewed, but for what was then unsparingly denounced as a shameless betrayal by those to whom I have alluded on a former occasion, and shall not now further speak of. These imputations, then, come not near the gentleman from Ohio, [Mr. CAMPBELL]—far from it. The friends of freedom rose up everywhere "to do him reverence," and those who like him had never wavered. They were covered with the empty honors, as it now seems, of only thanks and praise. From that day until now there has no public circumstance transpired, nor any private, judging from the fact that the challenge has more than once been offered here by that gentleman to any and every man to refer to such facts, public or private, which in the least should detract from the just appreciation of his conduct then. But now it would seem important for the promotion of the ambitious aims of others that he should in some way be destroyed in this well-deserved regard of the public generally, and especially of all the members of this body. Hence, it is too palpable, all these attacks. It had been his misfortune to have been thought of and voted for more than once, without *asking public leave* to do so, for the speakership. This is the "head and front of his offending" in the estimation of his colleague [Mr. WADE,] and of others who are of his *particular way* of thinking, or it may be only of *wishing*. Hence all these attacks upon others here, who in any possible way become the object of suspicion of that gentleman [Mr. WADE] and his *very charitable coadjutors*. But it matters not whose blunder or treachery, for the time being, inspires the indignation of these new, self-constituted, and exclusive guardians of liberty and the land—or who are self-appointed (or it may be, for aught I know, that there is a little coterie on this floor that issues commissions for that purpose) to administer appropriate punishment on such occasions; one thing is always certain—that is, an imperious demand that "*the stragglers*" should come in and submit themselves, soul and body, to the tender mercies of those to whom, I suppose, we shall soon learn, the destiny of empire here belongs "by divine right." Every gentleman can obey this requisition who chooses. I never shall.

After the remarks, this morning, of the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. THORINGTON] in regard to the *pretended caveats*, which has so much embarrassed gentlemen, I should hope we are to hear no more of that *dodge* which has strangely enough been

made to answer the double purpose of a shield to protect one set of gentlemen here, and a sword to destroy another. The candidate for whom the gentleman is voting [Mr. BANKS] expressly repudiated it in his remarks here upon the occasion of the general catechism of candidates, by declaring, in substance, that he was not the recipient of any caucus nomination. And now the gentleman from Iowa shows us precisely what was understood at the time, by all concerned, as to this sham caucus. It never would have been understood or represented in any other light, but that it afforded a pretext for one of the thousand falsehoods which have been flying out from this Capitol on black wings, like birds of ill omen, to defame and blast every man before the country, who would not tamely, as a hound, submit himself to the lash of the hunter. To that end the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. WADE] sent out, upon swift wings, this croaking raven of his. Let him cease his unprofitable and unworthy toil.

I should be a dishonored man if I would act with him upon the matter which he is now urging upon us; and I tell him now—while there is nothing at all of the spirit of bravado in my nature, nothing which defies physical danger and suffering—there is no power under Heaven that can move me to yield that which my deliberate judgment tells me is a point of honor? Does the gentleman understand me now? I hope he may, and I hope others may. And I tell him further, that he has colleagues who, if lie does not, do understand this difficulty. There is very little in my disposition which opposes a proper and just accommodation of differences. I have shown a willingness to accommodate differences, time and again, in this matter; and time and again have I been ruthlessly and insolently thrust off. Sir, I will not always go a beggar to any man's door for the settlement of differences. This letter-writing, and this editorial system of forcing men into submission, have gone a very great way in preventing the organization of this House. Why, sir, upon my colleague over the way, [Mr. BREXTON]—than whom there lives not, or ever has lived, a purer-hearted or truer man, or a man of more rugged and unbending faithfulness in the cause of truth, of justice, and of freedom—we have all seen and read, within the last three or four days, an assault so base, so infamous, that there is not one word in all the fullness and richness of our language vile enough to give it a name.

And this is part and parcel of a system carried on, in and out of this Hall, to drive men to submission—not to principle, but to a servile support of one man. Sir, under God, I never will submit to anything which is not in accordance with my own well-considered and deliberate judgment as to what is right, just, and honorable. Gentlemen may use their tongues and fingers as they choose; they may bring out their whips; but all will be unavailing.

I seek no further controversy in this matter. I have sought to avoid it; I have desired harmony with the anti-Nebraska men; I have submitted to very great injustice to secure it; I have been disposed to turn aside from personal indignity and insult, and bear these wrongs in patience, for this end; but I say to all men that, in the just and proper defense of that which is mine, and which the Supreme Ruler of all things and my great Benefactor has put in my charge—not for myself alone, but in trust for those who are to bear my

name and blood hereafter, and keep alive in the world, it may be for a little while, the memory of my actions—I will never yield a point of honor or plain duty in the face of any consequences to myself. Cease, then, your fruitless efforts; they will never avail. I leave the responsibility of my actions to the just judgment of my country and my God. To them I will be answerable, but not to that power here, whose demand is simply arrogant and insolent. But if there are those here who are resolved to force upon me a conflict, as with bears—or “the beasts at Ephesus,”—it is possible, that my repugnance to such a condition of things may, in the end, yield to my necessity. You can press matters to that point, if nothing less will satisfy your curiosity.

I will remark still further, in reference to the imputation of that letter—for the precise language I do not remember—that we, who are modestly called recusants, were as well in the pay of the Administration, and serving it for compensation, as to occupy the attitude we do, let gentlemen look at the record. I do not mean that gentleman's individual record, but the record upon that table; and I say, as I have said before, that it will tell a tale which will bring shame to their faces, rather than mine, if they have any.

Now, sir, so far as I am concerned, this controversy ends. When gentlemen assail, I strike them back; and all I ask of them is, that they strike like men—upon my face, and in the blaze of day. Do not practice the assassin's game, seeking the cover of darkness, and strike my unobserving and unprotected back.

Mr. WADE. I have but a word to say in reply to the remarks of the gentleman from Indiana, [Mr. DUNN.] I am not in the habit of boasting or using bravado. I am but a very plain man, making no pretensions of adherence to the code of honor, as understood among duellists. I could not do it, with my notions of what is required of me as a man. I discard that code utterly.

But so far as rendering to every man what is justly his due, and not taking from him aught that belongs to him, I am the first man to acknowledge the wrong, if I have done wrong. Gentlemen will always find me there. I am no bully; I am no duelist.

Now, sir, the gentleman from Indiana should not feel so sensitive, under the circumstances,—myself being judge,—and if he attempts to assert that I have charged him, in that letter, with being in the pay of the Administration, he charges what is not warranted by that letter, and what was not intended by it. All I intended to say there—and all I intend to say now—is, that in the relations which those gentlemen sustain to the organization of this House, in my judgment they are doing for the Administration a service which they could not do if they were in the ranks of that Administration. I did not impugn those gentlemen's motives; I never have impugned their motives, here or elsewhere; and I call upon any and all the members upon this floor to say if they ever heard me impugn the motives of those gentlemen, in any form whatever, as corrupt or dishonest. I have never had an intention of doing so. I have stated that, according to my intellectual views of the position of those gentlemen, they were wrong, and wrong in the course they have marked out for themselves. But I have not passed judgment on their motives in this matter.

I can understand that gentleman just as well as he can understand himself, when he says that force cannot be brought to bear upon him, whether by newspaper charges, newspaper letters, newspaper writers, or anything of that kind; but I understand what a man who stands by means; and if that gentleman believes in the right, he has the same right to believe I and those with whom I am acting are in the wrong. There is nothing in that which goes to sustain the inference that there is any charge upon the gentleman's personal honor, or anything of that kind. He is acting in his way—I in mine. I condemn his course as injurious to the cause which I advocate and which he advocates; he does not; and there is the difference between us. The gentleman's gallantry and courage and all that sort of thing, take no effect—are lost upon one who disdains imputing intentional wrong to him.

Mr. DUNN again took the floor.

Mr. WADE intimated that he would yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. DUNN. No, sir; finish your remarks.

Mr. WADE. I had nearly finished them. I had gone as far as I wished to go in making the explanation I desired to make. All that I have to say is, that the gentleman [Mr. DENN] is not charged with anything by me, unless he construes that into a charge which was but an expression of opinion as to the consequences of his course in relation to the election of Speaker.

Mr. DUNN. A single word, Mr. Clerk, with the indulgence of the House. If anything in my remarks had the remotest tendency to suggest to the mind of any man on this floor or in the world that I look upon it as even an allowable thing in any proper sense to resort to brute force in vindication of right, or in opposition to wrong, except in obedience to the law of nature, and that is the law of God, or unless where that brute force is moved up by the great mandate of human law, where army meets army, led by their respective chieftains, in obedience to the commands of their respective Governments,—if any remark of mine, I say, has made the impression that I would sanction, with judgment, a resort to brute force under other circumstances, I beg the pardon of all men for having so misled them. What I might do, in violation of my conviction of duty, it will be time enough to say when there is a great calamity upon me. I trust that no such misfortune shall ever come. I should turn from it—press away from it—struggle to escape it, as I would from a den of adders, in all excusable ways. I have no toleration for the thing to which the gentleman [Mr. WADE] has alluded. I suppose he alluded to it with the amiable design of impressing others than me, or those who heard me, that that is what I meant, and that that is what I want others to understand. Sir, there is nothing of the spirit of the bully about me; let me assure the gentleman of that. A kind Providence gave me my intellect to fight all battles of this character; and he does not allow that I should resort to other weapons, except as a defense to that temple in which, for a season, he has set up his light, or of something else equally as sacred. I hope to be able to keep his law, and that I may have no temptation to do otherwise. That is what I meant to declare, and did declare. Providence has given me the moral firmness to abide

by the obligations of duty. That is what I meant refusing to submit to all course where duty and submission or even concession, such as the gentleman meant me as referring to, I ought to consider what is the best alternative are presented. I will be in haste to say or do now for he would observe or disregard ordinary maxims, when he found himself, wholly without fault on his own part, being driven to that impassable point where degradation begins. No man ought to say in advance what he would do in such extremity. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

Now, sir, one other thing: The gentleman [Mr. WADE] said that he did not arraign the motives of myself and others who have refused to vote with him. Sir, what he published in that letter was not enough for him; but, being exposed in that transaction, he now comes here to repeat the offense; and yet he says he does not assail our motives; but he cannot so escape. It is a legal maxim and a just one—that a man is presumed to intend that, and precisely that, which is the legitimate consequence of his act. And I ask who can read that letter of the gentleman, unacquainted with the circumstances which have controlled the situation and conduct of members here,—who I say, can read it, and not be forced to feel that our conduct was wrong, and so subject to public condemnation? Taking, then, as a guide, that legal maxim, the object and effect of which is to promote justice, and which does promote it, I have a right to say, and do say, that the gentleman intended to do me an injury, and that, too, wholly without cause or excuse; and, as an aggravation of his wrongful act, he has not borne himself in it as a brave or a just man, but to do that injury he sought to hide himself under a fictitious signature. He covers himself from view by taking a false name, and then sends his imputation to a distance, among strangers, to do evil, so that he may not be detected, and brought to exposure and shame. Even thus secure, according to his own interpretation of his letter now, (if what he says means anything,) he did not intend to make any directly or tangibly offensive charge. No; not that. What he wrote was no more than a shivering insinuation. That does not help the case. It makes it worse, far worse. It was not the deed of a true man; but I say he was not content with that, for, after answering his colleague [Mr. CAMPBELL] this morning, now that he is seen, gathering courage from his necessity, he turns round and reads me a lecture. He resorts in substance and enlarges upon that which he had before covertly and secretly sent home to his constituents, for circulation there and elsewhere—showing a desire to injure, but an unwillingness to answer for it. But for his having done this, Mr. Clerk, I should not have troubled the House or trespassed upon its kind indulgence, to which I have been so often indebted; for I have no respect for the hand which, however concealed or wrapt in darkness, still trembles while it stabs. Allow me to thank gentlemen for their indulgence on this occasion and all others, and to say that I trust the future will enable me to dismiss forever this subject of discussion, as disgusting to me in itself as its occasion is vile.

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